1:DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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for feast cooking. Alongside, but still under the overhanging eaves, is the pigpen. From the verandah a ladder leads up through a hatchway into a corridor, and from the corridor a doorway with a high threshold opens into the main living room under the eaves. The right half of the room, as one enters, is called the woman's half and the left, the man's. The latter is on slightly longer posts, so that there is an imperceptible slant to the floor, but there is no functional difference in the use of the two halves of the house.

Above the living room are two lofts in which rice baskets and corn bundles, as well as some valuables, are stored. Paralleling the entrance corridor, on the opposite side of the living room and above the pigpen, is another corridor, which is used as a privy. The flooring throughout is made of slabs of split bamboo laid across widely spaced rafters, so that it squeaks and sags as one moves.

The living room itself is divided down the center by a long, rectangular hearth of earth enclosed in a wooden frame. Along the two sides of the room where there are no doors, shelves are built under the eaves. These are used for storage and sometimes as sleeping balconies. Usually, however, the sleeping as well as the cooking is done in the main room. At night pandanus sleeping mats are spread on the floor with one end free to be pulled over the sleeper. Additional warmth is secured by having a sleeping partner and by keeping the fire going. The bamboo rafters and walls of the room are blackened with soot from a fire that smolders day and night. The air is close with smoke and the odor of human beings. In addition, the interior is so dark that it usually takes a few seconds to adjust one's eyes to the gloom when one comes in from the sunlight.

In each house there generally lives a biologic family supplemented from time to time by other kin, bilaterally reckoned. In direct address the tendency is to equate all kin of the same generation, however remote, with siblings, all kin of the ascending generation with parents, and all the descending generation with children. The kinship system is of the simple Hawaiian type. There are three major kin groups whose existence is not reflected in the nomenclature. First, there is the patrilineal lineage called hieta plus a personal name prefix—Lethieta or Maughieta for instance. There are about fifteen of these in the Atimelang district. No major village, excluding dependent hamlets, has less than three or more than seven. Descendants of the eldest brother in a lineage are grouped together under the term Eldest House (*fing fala*); descendants of the youngest brother are called the Youngest House

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Carvings of village guardian spirits, familiars, and the like are all singularly crude, and no value is attached to them once they have been used for sacrificial purposes. It is not unusual to see these "sacred" carvings lying on the ground rotting away. (It was always considered a windfall to be able to sell me one. Also, I found it impossible to appeal to pride in order to procure good specimens for the museum collection I was making, and only by repeatedly refusing to pay for the poor ones did I get better examples of handicrafts.)

Although they are capable of building large and imposing houses, about a third of the houses were of the shed or field-hut type, which can be thrown together in a few days. Even an imposing new lineage house will have the edges of its thatch torn to shreds within a year by its owners, who pull out a handful whenever they want a torch at night. As I have already indicated, tattooing and tooth blackening are so unskillfully done that they fail frequently to be permanent. Basketry is of the simplest sort, with a minimum of overlay decorations. The Atimelangers have never acquired the arts of weaving known on the coast, of pottery produced in villages not two hours away, or of *cire perdue* casting known in the eastern part of the island. This is true despite the fact that they know the processes fairly well, and there are no taboos or restrictions that I could discover against the practice of such crafts.

Their mythology is confused and unstructuralized. Their knowledge of genealogies is so deficient that many individuals do not know their more remote Male House kin. Ceremonial procedure is almost always a source of fumbling and of heated argument as to proper procedure. In respect to some of these items, it is possible that they represent newly or partially introduced features which were not clearly understood in the first place, or else features that were survivalistic. Regardless of the possible historical situation, the fact remains that little is done by way of elaboration and integration, and no effort is made to master the resources of the environment.

From the point of view of depth psychology all this might well point to a weakness in ego development. This would be in agreement with my suggestions in the preceding chapters, that it is precisely in the realm of ego development that the Atimelang child suffers the greatest handicaps and receives the least encouragement. The rewards are few and meager in childhood as well as in adult life. Men want to be rich; they may have the drive, but more than drive is necessary for successful accomplishment. Consistent training and the assurance of reward (or penalty) are essential to learning. These two factors are largely absent. It is not astonishing, therefore, that so many men accept the

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I suggest that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice so long as its symbolic content can be so high. Any institution that may be invested with high emotional value because of patterns of child training is not one which can be lightly legislated out of existence. The implications of such relationships bear not only on the problems of the diffusion of culture and the persistence of traits, but also on applied anthropology as it is envisaged by enlightened colonial administrators. Head-hunting could be stopped almost overnight (page 131) because child training had been toward deflecting hostility into wealth manipulations rather than physical violence. Physical violence broke out only when finance failed to ease strain in interpersonal relationships. There were in addition substitutive devices at hand. Trying to eliminate sacrifice would, however, be a very different matter, and, in fact, there has been singularly little headway made by missionaries in that direction. Furthermore, Christianity with its magnification of the parental image may have failed to make inroads because paths leading in that direction had not been worn deep in the personality of the Atimelang child.

THE HEREAFTER

These speculations upon the emotional content and significance of institutions were precipitated by a discussion of the feasts necessary for the final dismissal of ghosts from the village boundary. It is really at this point that significant interest in the dead stops. Perhaps this correlates with the Atimelanger's poor memory for genealogies. When the dead are no longer potential sources of danger and when they are no longer being named in connection with sacrifices, they are lost from memory. What happens to this second soul no one could tell me; whether it rejoins the other soul in the village of the dead, below or above, no one seemed to know. In addition, there is another place where the dead are supposed to go and to live underground. This is a low, uninhabitable coral island, called Hamintuku in the Abui language, which is off the northwest point of Benleleng Bay. It is quite obvious from all this uncertain and fragmentary material that the Atimelangers are not interested in structuralizing any of these vague and contradictory speculations. There may be a rare individual who is concerned with such matters, but, if so, I failed to discover him, and he would in any case be aberrant in that respect. Again, this reinforces the argument that the Atimelangers are not concerned with speculative constructs or the nonmanifest. Even the village of the dead seems to be no more than a reflection of earthly life. It is called Sahiek, or Sehiek, and is presided over by a figure named Karfehawa (literally, Kar-pig-jaw). The location of Sahiek and the identity of Karfehawa were completely nebulous to most informants. Rilpada came nearest to giving a coherent account.

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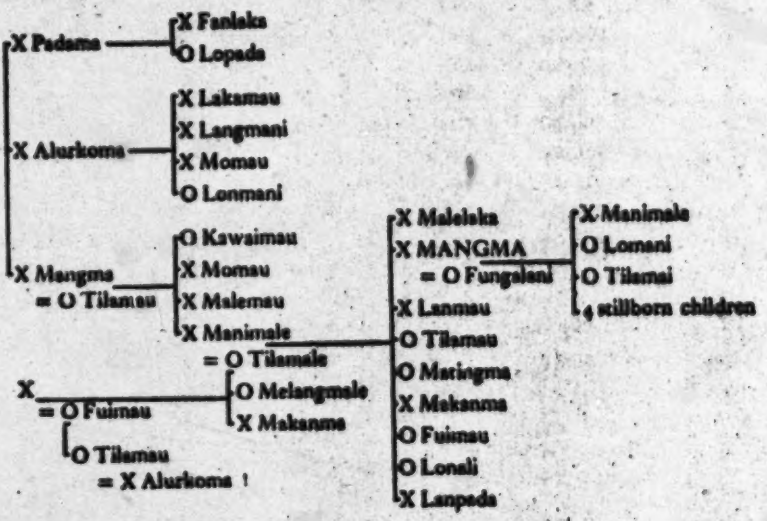
Genealogy of Mangma



tar under which I was crouching, but it did not crush me. I was safe there.

When I was a little bigger [six to seven], Alurkai and I were friends. We were big enough to begin to use bows and arrows. We went to Aimau and shot Maugpada's dog. He ran after us and we couldn't run [865] fast because we were still small. He took our bows and arrows and broke them up. He cut a stalk and beat us. [Question.] He was no kin. Mother and father did not quarrel with him. Maugpada said, "Now I have beaten you. Next time don't kill my dog."

[865] Once my mother wanted me to cut * the fields, but I didn't want to, so she tied my hands together and left me in the house. I gnawed the rope through and ran away to Alurkoma [mother's mother's sister's husband, called grandfather]. I lived with Alurkoma for about a year. But I thought about my mother's tying my hands, and so I got part of a knife blade and pounded it to make it hard and went to cut the field. When it was all cut and burned over, my father and mother came to plant it. Then I cared for the field myself and weeded it. When the food was ripening, my mother came to harvest it. I remembered her tying my hands, and I said she could not take the food. She remembered

[241] * This is a literal translation of the native term and refers to the clearing of weeds with a field knife.

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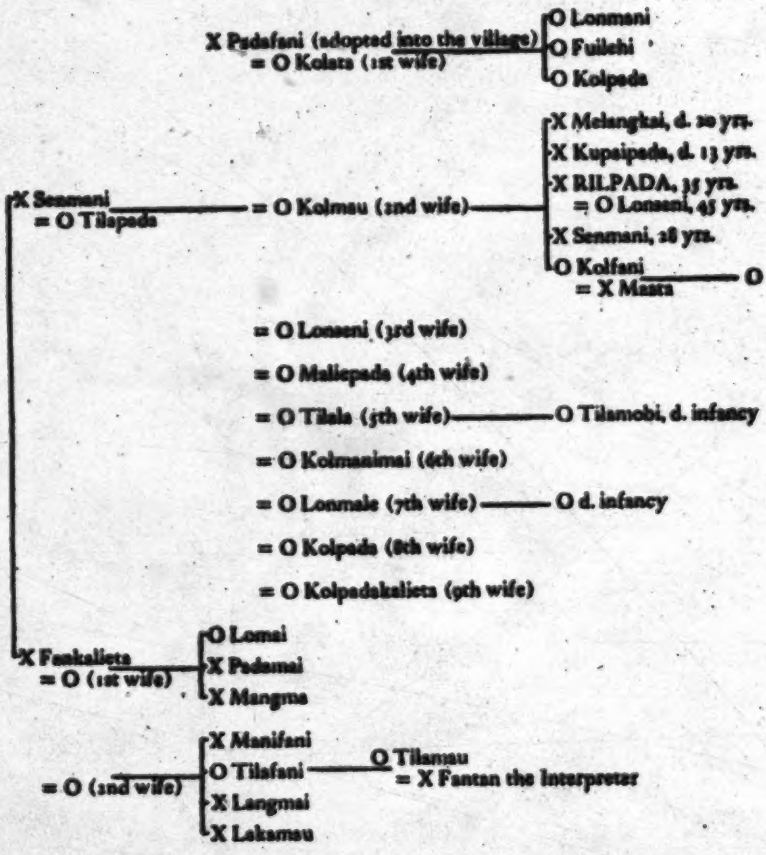
Genealogy of Rilpada



X 159 bamboo tubes full [twenty to thirty rats to a tube]. When we finished blackening our teeth, we told the girls, twenty-two of them, to pound and cook corn. We had a feast. Each girl was given seven rats. We
252 boiled the rest of the rats and drank the soup to set the dye in our
304 teeth. There were thirty boys. When we returned to the village, Pada-
386 male, who had blackened our teeth, collected all of us together and we
X 159 paid him. He got fifty-two arrows. Our elders had helped us collect
526 them and there were some left over, so the next day our elders suggested that we shoot at targets for them. They set ten banana stalks at

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Genealogy of Malelaka

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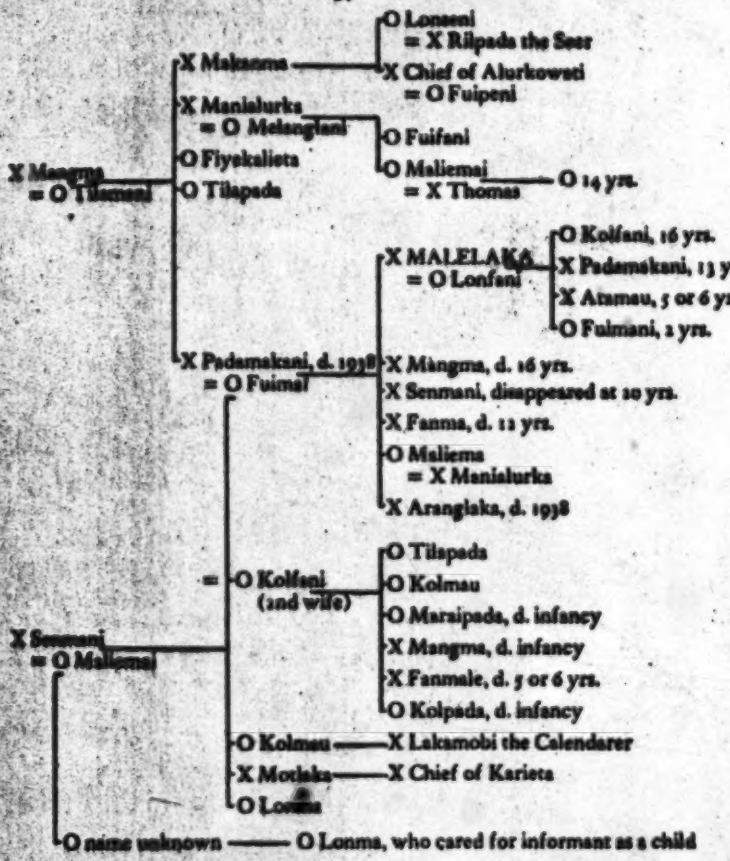

then I was to beat gongs just once so the people of the Five Villages 159X
could come bringing wood. I do not know exactly whether their promise was for one month or one year. When they spoke to me they asked, "Shall we bring an arrow or not?" I said, "If you bring an arrow, this world will turn over. If it does, who will be your subjects?" [The idea is that they would overturn the world with their arrow and the world would end.] So the Good Beings went back. In two days they came again and said, "Seers are the pupils of the eyes of the dead. They treat sick people and make them well. So when we come, call them just once.

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Chapter 13

Fantan the Interpreter

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The beginning of this autobiography was collected in the usual manner. It was the first of the eight secured, and I suggested that Fantan tell me his life story so that he could understand the kind of information I hoped to get. The last part is a combination of Fantan's own casual accounts of his daily affairs and my observations on the difficulties he encountered. This latter part is written in the third person instead of the first and consists partly of casual jottings on Fantan's behavior and attitudes made in connection with other topics.

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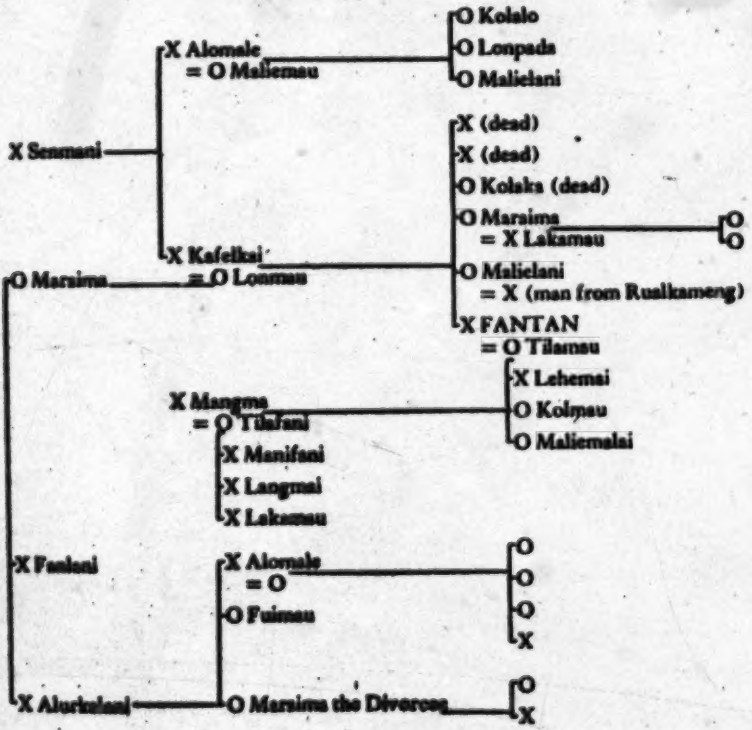
Genealogy of Fantan



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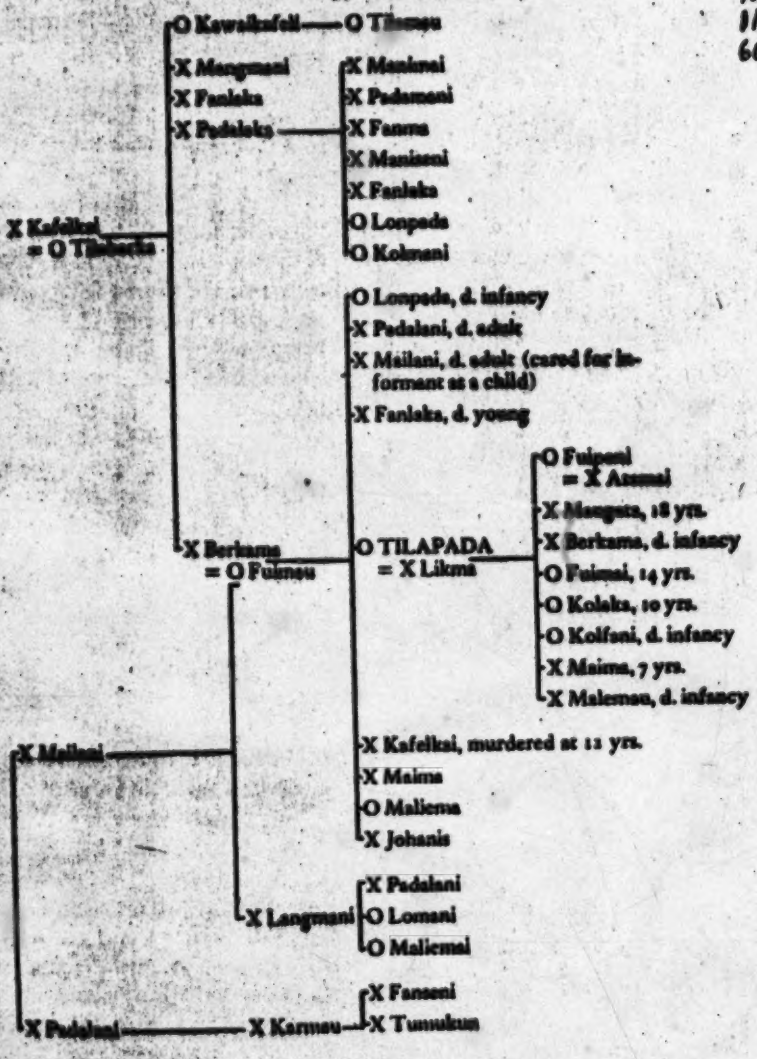
Genealogy of Tilapada



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Chapter 15

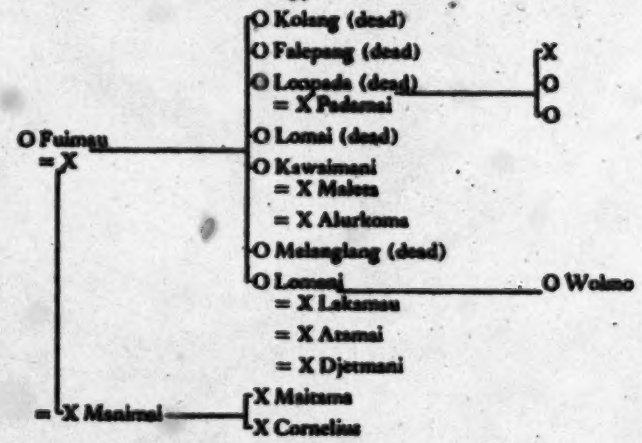
Lomani

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

March 11, 1939

My father died when I was small, so I don't know him. Then mother took us to Padavi [a fieldsite]. We lived there and then came back to Hiengmang [another fieldsite]. Then we went to live in Old Atimelang. We made a lean-to [*tolang*, a very poor sort of house] at Kamangmelang. Mother herself made the house and put a little thatch on it, and we slept there. Mother raised a pig for my grandfather's death feast. After we had given the feast, mother died. When we were a little

Genealogy of Lomani *



* A complete genealogy was not recorded.

bigger we hunted husbands. Then I went to my husband's village and he died. Next I married a man from Kalmaabui. I went to cut weeds and made the garden feast all by myself. He didn't come to help me, so I ran away and came back here to Atimelang. Djetmani said I was his wife, so we married and stayed together until Djetmani married Falongmau. He said he didn't want me any more, so I was left. Then people wanted me to marry again, but I said no, that it was better that I stay

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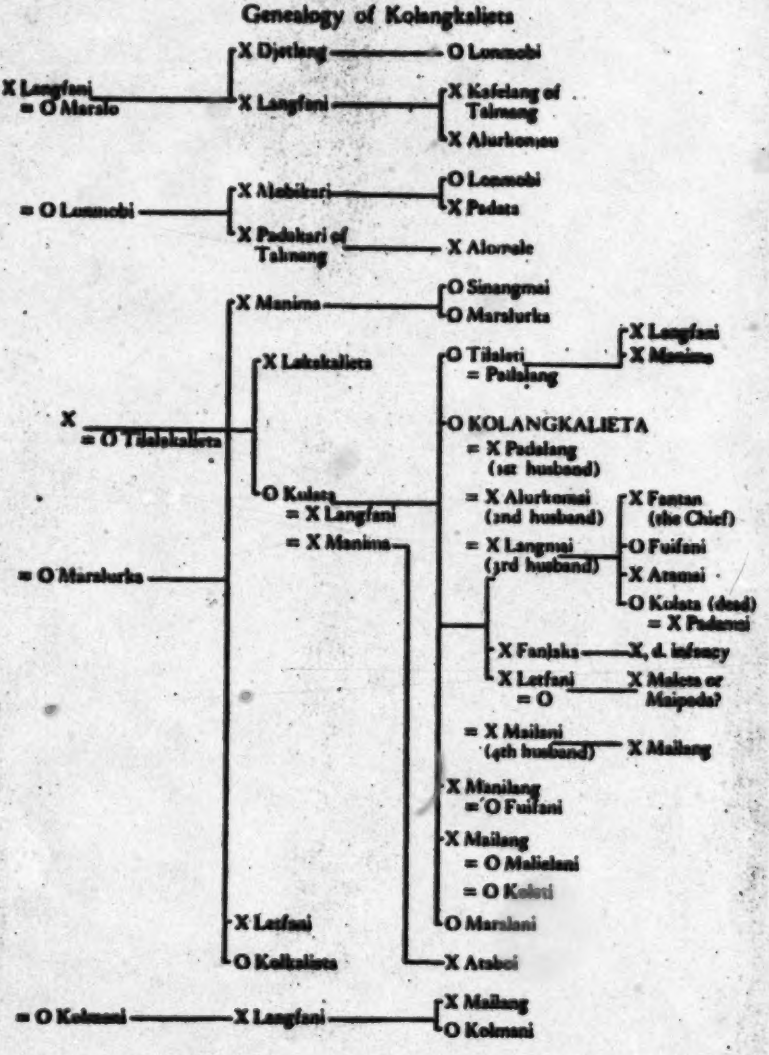
Genealogy of Kolangkalieta



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Chapter 17

Kolmani the Seeress

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The informant talked freely and herself suggested that she give her autobiography. She spoke in briefer paragraphs than the others and stopped to see that her words were written down. After the first day these pauses are indicated with the word *Stop* in brackets.

April 12, 1939

Father I never knew. He died when I could just crawl. After that mother died when I was only two. Grandmother took care of me. I stayed there a long time and then went to live with various mothers [classificatory]. One mother had a child, Maleta, for whom I cared; then she became pregnant and had another child, Langfani. I took care of that child too. Then I had a bad case of yaws. I was staying with my mother and taking care of Maleta when the village burned down. Later mother cut a garden for me. She sold the proceeds for two pieces of cloth, but she didn't give them to me. When I was staying with her, my middle mother [the middle sister in her mother's family] asked me

Genealogy of Kolmani the Seeress